**MEASUREMENT APPENDIX:**

**European Social Survey Rounds 1-8 (2002-2016): Countries and Years**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 2002 | 2004 | 2006 | 2008 | 2010 | 2012 | 2014 | 2016 |
| Austria | X | x | x |  |  |  | x | x |
| Belgium | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Bulgaria |  |  | x | x | x | x |  |  |
| Czech Republic | X | x |  | x | x | x | x | x |
| Germany | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Denmark | X | x | x | x | x | x | x |  |
| Estonia |  | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Spain | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Finland | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| France | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| United Kingdom | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Greece | X | x |  | x | x |  |  |  |
| Hungary | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Ireland | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Iceland |  | x |  |  |  | x |  | x |
| Italy | X | x |  |  |  | x |  | x |
| Lithuania |  |  |  |  | x | x | x | x |
| Luxembourg | X | x |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Netherlands | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Poland | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Portugal | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Russia |  |  | x | x | x | x |  | x |
| Sweden | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Slovenia | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Slovakia |  | x | x | x | x | x |  |  |
| Ukraine |  | x | x | x | x | x |  |  |

**Variables:**

*Individual-level variables:*

**Satisfaction with Democracy** (stfdem): (0) Extremely dissatisfied– (10) Extremely satisfied

**Satisfaction with Economy** (stfeco): (0) Extremely dissatisfied – (10) Extremely satisfied

**Experience with Democracy:** *Additive*(alpha: 0.63) (contplt wrkprty wrkorg badge sgnptit pbldmn): coded so that participation equals 1 (none=0).

**Left-Right Ideological Self-Identification** (lrscale): (0) Left – (10) Right

**Winning Party Voter:** If in previous election, respondent voted for party in governing coalition; 0 if no.

**Ideological Winner:** based on collapsed Left-Right scale (-1 Right, 0 Center, 1 Left) aligned with identification of ideological orientation of governing coalition (govparty): (1) Hegemony of right/center parties and (2) Dominance of right/center; (3) Balance of power between left and right; (4) Dominance of left parties; and (5) Hegemony of left parties. These were collapsed to 1 & 2 = right; 3 = center; 4 &5 = left. From Comparative Political Dataset.

**Male**: (gndr): Male=1

**Age**: (agea): under 16 are not included.

**Education** (eisced) **Highest level of education, ES – ISCED****: (**0) Not possible to harmonise into ES-ISCED; (1) ES-ISCED I , less than lower secondary; (2) ES-ISCED II, lower secondary; (3) ES-ISCED IIIb, lower tier upper secondary; (4) ES-ISCED IIIa, upper tier upper secondary; (5) ES-ISCED IV, advanced vocational, sub-degree; (6) ES-ISCED V1, lower tertiary education, BA level; (7)ES-ISCED V2, higher tertiary education, >= MA level.

**Income**: (hinctnt, hinctnta): Household's total net income, all sources. Refusal/Don't know/No answer to Missing. For hinctnt, 11, 12 coded to 10 (highest for hinctnta).

*Macro-level variables:*

**Democratic age:** Age country has been a democracy in 2016. Poltiy IV Project.

**GDP per capita growth:** Annual % for each year of survey response, World Bank

**Unemployment:** % of total labor force for each year of survey response, World Bank

**Inflation:** Consumer prices annual % for each year of survey response, World Bank

**Income Inequality:** Gini Index, for each year of survey response: Standardized World Income Inequality Database

**Government Performance:** Additive (alpha: 0.83): Rule of Law; Government Effectiveness; Voice and Accountability; World Governance Indicators

**Post-Communist:** 1 if country is post-communist country; 0 Otherwise

**Effective Number of parties:** Effective number of parties on the voteslevel (Laakso and Taagepera 1979): Comparative Political Dataset.

**Semi-Presidentialism:** 1 Semi-presidential; 0 if not.

**CEEC:** 0 if No early election calling; 1 if Prime Minister Dissolution; 2 if Cabinet/Majority; 3 if President Unilateral

**Year:** Year respondent completed survey [inwyye]. If unavailable, date of survey [inwyr]. If unavailable, data started survey [inwyys]. If unavailable, date of supplementary questionnaire [supqyr] (this applied only to Estonia, Round 5). As the *European Social Surveys* only list the year of publication (i.e.: 2002, 2004, 2006, etc..), this is used to more accurately link respondents to their macro-environments.

**Months Early:** Months between called election and regularly scheduled election.

**Early Election:** 1 if early election is called; 0 Otherwise.[[1]](#footnote-1)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ***Early Elections Called*** | **Country** | **Date** |
| *Prime Minister* | Denmark | 20-Nov-01 |
|  | Denmark | 8-Feb-05 |
|  | Denmark | 13-Nov-07 |
|  | Denmark | 18-Jun-15 |
|  | Spain | 20-Nov-11 |
|  | Spain | 26-Jun-16 |
|  | Ireland | 6-Jun-97 |
|  | Ireland | 25-Feb-11 |
|  | United Kingdom | 07-Jun-01 |
|  | United Kingdom | 05-May-05 |
|  |  |  |
| *Cabinet* | Austria | 24-Nov-02 |
|  | Austria | 28-Sep-08 |
|  | Belgium | 13-Jun-10 |
|  | Greece | 09-Apr-00 |
|  | Greece | 16-Sep-07 |
|  | Greece | 4-Oct-09 |
|  | Greece | 17-Jun-12 |
|  | Greece | 20-Sep-15 |
|  | The Netherlands | 22-Jan-03 |
|  |  |  |
| *President* | Iceland | 25-Apr-09 |
|  | Iceland | 29-Oct-16 |
|  | Italy | 13-Apr-08 |
|  | Italy | 24-Feb-13 |

**Early Election Calling Types, Early Elections Called, & Number of Individual-level Observations**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **No Early Elections called** | **Early Elections called** | ***Total*** |
| No Early Elections | 58,480 | 0[[2]](#footnote-2) | *58,480* |
| Prime Minister | 25,944 | 16,413 | *42,357* |
| Cabinet | 34,701 | 12,148 | *46,849* |
| President | 12,877 | 1,131 | *14,008* |
| ***Number of Observation*** | *132,002* | *29,692* | **161,694** |

**Aggregate Satisfaction with Democracy across Different Early Election Calling Rules**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Satisfaction with Democracy [0-10] | **Early Elections called** | |
| ***Early Election Calling Types*** | **No** | **Yes** |
| *No Early Election Power* | 5.46; sd=2.47; N=58,480 | *-[[3]](#footnote-3)* |
| *Prime Minister* | 6.11; sd=2.17; N=25,944 | 5.73; sd=2.54; N=16,413 |
| *Cabinet* | 5.83; sd=2.25; N=34,701 | 5.34; sd=2.40; N=12,148 |
| *President* | 4.51; sd=2.35; N=12,877 | 5.17; sd=2.34; N=1,131 |

**Description of Variables**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Obs** | **Mean** | **Std. Dev.** | **Min** | **Max** |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 161,694 | 5.6 | 2.4 | 0 | 10 |
| *Individual-level* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfaction w Economy | 161,694 | 4.8 | 2.5 | 0 | 10 |
| Experience w Democracy | 161,694 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 0 | 6 |
| Winning Party Voter | 161,694 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideological Winners | 161,694 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0 | 1 |
| Male | 161,694 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 161,694 | 51.4 | 16.7 | 16 | 99 |
| Education | 161,694 | 3.2 | 2.3 | 0 | 7 |
| Income | 161,694 | 5.9 | 2.7 | 1 | 10 |
| *Macro-level: Early Election* |  |  |  |  |  |
| CR: PM Dissolution | 161,694 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0 | 1 |
| CR: Cabinet/Majority | 161,694 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| CR: Pres Unilateral | 161,694 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0 | 1 |
| *Macro-Level: Controls* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Survey Year | 161,694 | 2009.24 | 4.40 | 2002 | 2016 |
| Age of Democracy | 161,694 | 91.5 | 56.3 | 23 | 202 |
| GINI Index | 161,694 | 28.5 | 3.2 | 23.2 | 35.3 |
| GDP *per capita* growth | 161,694 | 1.21 | 3.29 | -14.6 | 24.4 |
| Inflation | 161,694 | 1.8 | 1.6 | -4.5 | 10.4 |
| Unemployment | 161,694 | 7.9 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 26.1 |
| Government Performance Index | 161,694 | 4.3 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 6.1 |
| Post-Communist country | 161,694 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0 | 1 |
| Semi-Presidential country | 161,694 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0 | 1 |
| Effective Number of Parties | 161,694 | 5.0 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 10.4 |
| Single-member, simple plurality | 161,694 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0 | 1 |
| Modified proportional representation | 161,694 | 1.81 | 0.52 | 0 | 2 |
| Months Early | 161,694 | 14.2 | 11.5 | 0 | 39.8 |

Variables not discussed in the text

**Male**: (gndr) recoded so the Male=1; female and other ==0

**Age**: (agea) those under 18 are not included.

**Education** (edulvla): (1) Less than lower secondary education (ISCED 0-1); (2) Lower secondary education completed (ISCED 2); (3) Upper secondary education completed (ISCED 3); (4) Post-secondary non-tertiary education completed (ISCED 4); (5) Tertiary education completed (ISCED 5-6); coded to missing: Other; Refusal; Don't know; No answer

**Income**: (hinctnt): Household's total net income, all sources.[[4]](#footnote-4) Code to missing: Refusal/Don't know/No answer.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Code** | **Weekly** | **Monthly** | **Annually** |
| 1 | Less than €40 | Less than €150 | Less than €1800 |
| 2 | €40 to under €70 | €150 to under €300 | €1800 to under €3600 |
| 3 | €70 to under €120 | €300 to under €500 | €3600 to under €6000 |
| 4 | €120 to under €230 | €500 to under €1000 | €6000 to under €12000 |
| 5 | €230 to under €350 | €1000 to under €1500 | €12000 to under €18000 |
| 6 | €350 to under €460 | €1500 to under €2000 | €18000 to under €24000 |
| 7 | €460 to under €580 | €2000 to under €2500 | €24000 to under €30000 |
| 8 | €580 to under €690 | €2500 to under €3000 | €30000 to under €36000 |
| 9 | €690 to under €1150 | €3000 to under €5000 | €36000 to under €60000 |
| 10 | €1150 to under €1730 | €5000 to under €7500 | €60000 to under €90000 |
| 11 | €1730 to under €2310 | €7500 to under €10000 | €90000 to under €120000 |
| 12 | €2310 or more | €10000 or more | €120000 or more |

**Datasets:**

Armingeon, Klaus, Virginia Wenger, Fiona Wiedemeier, Christian Isler, Laura Knöpfel, David Weisstanner and Sarah Engler. 2018. *Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2016*. Bern: Institute of Political Science, University of Berne.

European Social Survey (2017). ESS Round 8 (2016/2017) Technical Report. London: ESS ERIC.

European Social Survey Cumulative File, ESS 1-7 (2016). Data file edition 1.0. NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS REIC.

Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi. 2010. "The Worldwide Governance Indicators: A Summary of Methodology, Data and Analytical Issues". World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5430.

Poltiy IV Project. *Source*: <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html>

Solt, Frederick. 2016. “The Standardized World Income Inequality Database" *Social Science Quarterly* 97. SWIID Version 7.1, August 2018.

World Bank, World Development Indicators. 2018. GDP per capita growth (annual %) [NY.GDP.PCAP.KD.ZG]; Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate) [SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS]; Inflation, consumer prices (annual %) [FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG].

Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2017:Aggregate Indicators of Governance 1996-2017: [www.govindicators.org](http://www.govindicators.org/).

1. We note that there were additional early elections called in both Bulgaria [5-Oct-14] and Luxemburg [20-Oct-13]. However, subsequent elections happened before surveys were fielded in the country [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. There were early elections called in both the Czech Republic [20-Jun-98 & 26-Oct-13] and Germany [18-Sep-05]. Early elections are possible under the constrained early election rule type albeit quite rare, usually the result of governance failure rather than opportunism. In the Czech case, both were failures to keep governments in office. For Germany, there was an exceptional case of partisan manipulation (Schröder). These exceptions are not investigated here. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. *Ibid.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. European Social Survey; Round 3 Showcards 2006 (Card 53); Amendment 01. Source: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/search?q=%20Source%20Showcards&fq=round_facet:%22ESS3%202006%22&fq=doctype_facet:%22Fieldwork%20Documents%22> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)